MOKO

A Serious Review

No 7

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MAS' IN YUH MAS'

Once again a Caribbean country has gone through the motions of appearing to be in charge of its own economic destiny. Indeed the *Nation*, official organ of the Peoples National Movement, has already trumpeted the arrival of the new era, the era of "Decision-Making At Home." Trinidad, with its third Draft-Five-Year Plan recently published, has launched another attempt at economic planning without having either the control or the techniques that are required to make the exercise worthwhile. Brittle both in form and in content, the document is a papier mache trinket ,diverting for a few days, and at best a useful record of the evolution of our economic life over the last five years. At worst it is a cynical attempt to trick the people into believing that their elected government has control over the economic factors which affect their lives.

A Development Plan for Trinidad and Tobago stands or falls on the extent to which it concerns itself with three things. These are external dependence, mass unemployment and structural transformation.

We shall deal with them one by one.

The Problem of External Independence

A brief review of the performance of the economy in the last five year period will illustrate clearly its continued dependence on decisions external to both the interest and the jurisdiction of the country. These major external decisions almost completely determined what happened in the period.

The first was the decision of Texaco in 1966 to reactivate the old Guayaguayare field. In the period 1962 to 1965, when local crude oil production stagnated, the economy stagnated with it. Then suddenly, in election year 1966, Texaco turned up the oil taps a couple of notches and the economy took off again. The rate of growth of the economy doubled from a limping 3% to over 6% per annum. Petroleum and petroleum products now form 80% of our exports,28% of Government revenue and 25% of the total value of goods and services produced every year.

Major Decision

The second major decision was that of Uncle Sam to turn on the migration taps in 1964, in which year, Trinidad, for the first time in the twentieth century and perhaps in its history, became a net exporter of people. By 1968, it is estimated that about 10,000 people per year were leaving the island permanently, about half of them heading for the United States. So dramatic has been this effect that whereas the last plan had expected the growth of population to be 3%, the level of an under-developed country, in 1968 it will have been reduced to about 1% the level of industrialised Europe.

The third was the decision of the British Government in November 1967 to devalue the pound sterling. All the Commonwealth Caribbean governments, with the paint not yet dry on their brand-new Central Banks, proceeded to follow suit in a way which made one wonder whether the extra cost of printing the words "Trinidad and Tobago" on the dollar notes was worth the ink. Its major effects, apart from raising the cost of living by 9% in one year when it usually rises by only 2%, were on the one hand to raise the Government's revenue from, and thus increase its dependence on, the oil companies, since these are calculated (like BWIA tickets) in U.S. Dollars, and on the other hand to keep intact the ailing British-owned sugar industry which is long overdue for phasing out.

The Problem of Mass Unemployment

In a society which is so utterly dependent on external forces, can one blame the planners for reducing the planning exercise to an empty political ritual devoid of any serious posing of alternative strategies?

We are told, for example, that the mass unemployment which we have come to learn to live with over the last two five-year plans, cannot be eliminated until 1983. Who made this decision? Texaco? The U.S. Government? The British Government? The planners? The Trinidad Government? A 15% unemployment rate would destroy any industrialised society. When it reached 5% in the U.S. in 1960, Kennedy made it an election issue. And it is no good saying that it's alright, we are under-developed, our society can take it, because the planners have already pointed out to us that our unemployment is much more like the "open unemployment" of a developed country than the "disguised unemployment" of under developed countries where people eke out a precarious livelihood in subsistence agriculture.

What all this means is that long before 1983, something will have to give. The age structure of the unemployed dramatises this concept very effectively. Fully 51% of the unemployed are under age 25 which means that there are thousands of young people who are facing the possibility of waiting 10 years before they get their first job. It is no use saying that Uncle Sam will step in, because Uncle Sam is already expected to step in to the tune of taking (with U.K. and Canada) 5,000 a year over the Plan period.

And yet, to illustrate how cynical the exercise was, the Chapter on "Human Resources and Manpower" represents one of the few parts of the Plan where some attempt was made to mobilise modern techniques in mapping out the effects of the Plan's development strategy on the manpower resources of the country. It has failed simply because it refuses to search for other patterns of sectoral growth which can achieve full employment without migration long before 1983. In this sense, if no other, it is a political document.

The Problem of Structural Transformation

Most economists who have studied the patterns of production of countries which are described as less-developed, have argued that what is required is that the production structure of these countries must be changed to a new pattern which will enable their economies to grow automatically and in a smoother fashion than they are used to in their present period of underdevelopment. What is required, they say, is the structural transformation of these economies.

Because a lot of the theoretical discussion of the development problem is concerned with large and medium - sized countries such as China, India, Brazil, Argentina and Nigeria, there has been some questioning as to whether this solution [can be applied to the tiny island economies which form the Caribbean. For example, it is said,these economies are so small that even if they are integrated, it is unlikely that they will be able to produce their own capital goods)factories to make factories). The terms mini-economy and even micro - mini economy have been used by some economists to describe this phenomenon of small size.

In this situation what do we mean by structural trnasformation? In the first place, we must try to understand what is the present structure of the Caribbean economies before we can decide how they can be transformed. Each of them is characterised by a structure which is deceptively simple. One or two products by themselves generate most of the exports, the earnings of which are then used to buy almost everything they consume from the rest of the world. The Government taxes these one or two products on the one hand and collects customs duties on the imports from the rest of the world on the other, to generate its revenue.

In Trinidad, the one product is petroleum and its derivatives. This structure of production has led to five main features, which effectively distinguish Caribbean economies from other parts of the underdeveloped world :–

(1) a relatively high average income per head
(2) relatively little or no balance of payments problems
(3) Mass open unemployment
(4) almost complete dependence on external decision-making.
(5) an extremely inequitable distribution of income

As can be seen, whereas the first two are in most senses desirable things, the last three are certainly highly undesirable and almost definitely cannot be compensated for by the first two. The last is almost certainly due mainly to the third and fourth.

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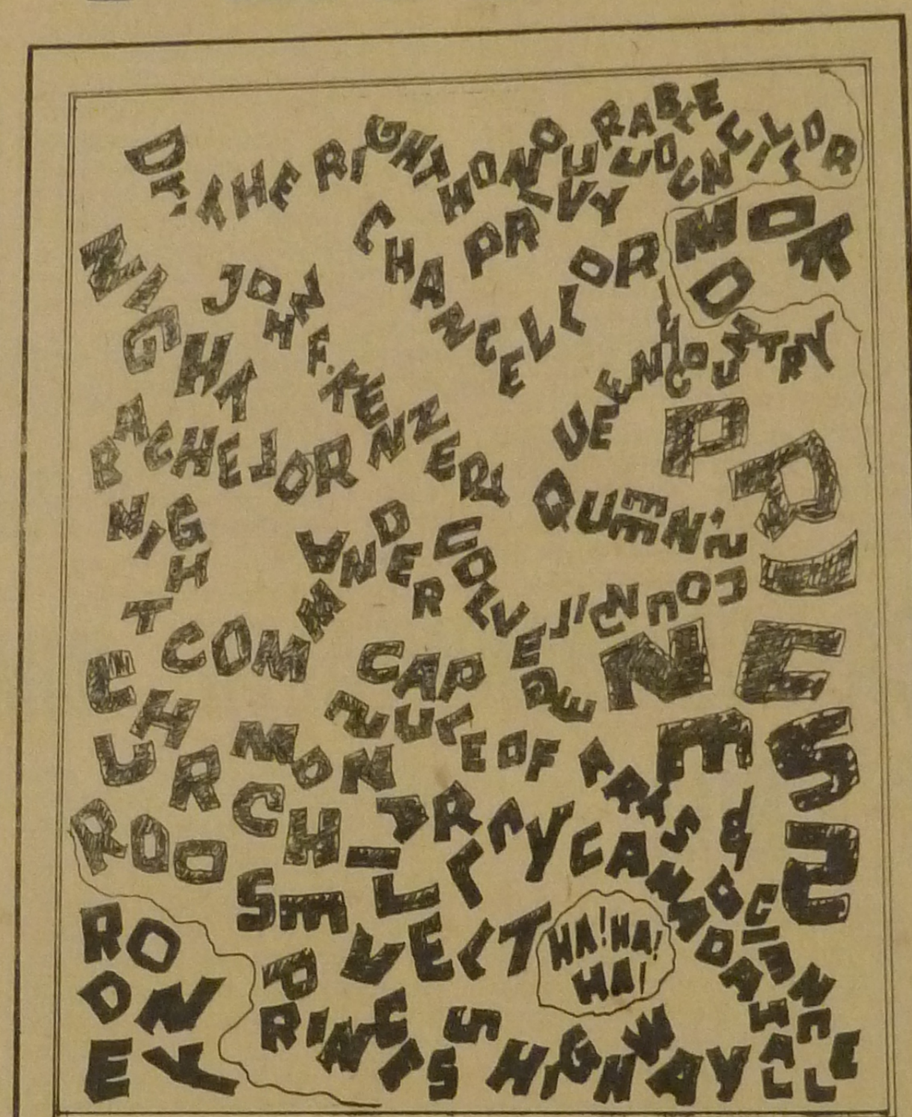

SYMBOLS

BAT OUT!

(Thoughts of a Montserrat sage)

Dey is only one way to play
Cricket man,
Yuh win de toss? BAT !
Doan declare! Bat out !! Mek
three thousand runs !
Sen' dem in
Bowl dem out for nought
Doan enforce no follow-on
BAT AGAIN ! !
Doan declare! BAT OUT ! !
Mek a nex' three thousand runs
Sen' dem in again
Bowl dem out again
WIN OUT ! !

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ALL CONTRIBUTIONS WILL BE GRATEFULLY ACKNOWLEDGED.

Power Black and young, in Caribbean Society

By J.D. ELDER

Conflict is natural in a real world where men are free to exercise choice. In Trinidad and Tobago 'Young Power' is symbolical of a potential force possessed by the youthful generation for accelerating change in the existing power-structure and in the official administrative goals of the country. Generally speaking, this potential is viewed as a threat to the Establishment not so much because of what the 'movers' have accomplished but because of the uncertainty notonly outside, but also inside the movement as to the method by which this power will be acquired, how it will be used once it is gained, and the ends to which it will be applied in changing the society. In its own inability to present precise manifestos about what innovations it proposes lies its strategy and strength vis - a - vis the existing power - structure the status quo. Danger to the existing order is always disturbing to the incumbents within a power system. In the event of the youthful campaigners succeeding the holders of power-roles, the agencies of decision-making roles will be forced to consider or grant compromise or be forced to abdicate their positions. This is psychologically upsetting. The Young Power group know well as Tennyson did that "one good custom can corrupt the world" and so, "the old order" must change. To them in their generation the existent is the "old"

The situation needs not constitute a dilemna. The "old order" of confusion and error has been giving place to thenew in the wider world. The younger generation has infiltrated the university administration in the large American and European cities and the "young nations" have dominated the international Councils of the world. The potential power of the young people to change society can be seen in the Church, in industrial science, in art. "Young Power" in Trinidad and Tobago is but a stream tributary to a great world-wide river of youthful demand, an almost universal drive in which youth is asserting its right to involvement in determining what is to become of society. With widespread threat of destruction to the whole human race the more minds the better that are engaged in finding solutions as to how this can be averted.

If youth is resorting to hostility and violence in order to force themselves upon the attention of the older generation it is because they are not allowed to use less dramatic methods which are at the disposal of the two generations, e.g., the techniques of dialogue and discussion. Stereotyped as wild and angry, young people fall for the self-fulfilling prophecy and its dangers. . . the dog given the bad name, comes to deserve it. Conflict stems from unwillingness on the part of the adult generation to admit, as Isaiah Berlin pointed out, that each generation in the pursuit of its own peculiar goals must naturally clash with and possibly hinder the realization of the purposes of the other generation. There is always the gap to be contended with. But once this is recognized the ground will be laid for dialogue towards arbitration. Because struggle as the older generation may, the younger set will outlive them . . . and take over eventually. Given the roles of "understudies" young people will be well prepared to assume their full obligations; shut out of the running of the society they can become dangerous snipers with destructive powers. Unless this type of approach is followed the society becomes an armed camp and a build-up of armament towards a civil psychological war between the generations.

Black Power is onlyone aspect of the "young-power"movement. While it has a clearer connotation for young coloureds in societies where people of African and Asian descent or Jews are political and/or economic minorities and while it may seem to have more relevance in heterogeneous populations, in the Caribbean its legitimacy rests upon the fact that non-coloured minorities and groups continue to wield directly and indirectly both economic and political power over "the natives". Thus in a general sense the problems which the Black Power of America and the Young Power of the Caribbean face are identical. No security measures or police repression can supply the answer to the questions which the youthful movements raise. The answer can be only one of these two - - - open inter-generational hostility and its effects which are too expensive for Caribbean societies and mutual respect for and understanding between, the elements involved - Whites and Coloureds and Youth and Adults. Utopia difficult as it is to realize may come to the Caribbean societies. . . but not without compromise on both sides of the natural conflict which will always, characterize seekers of identical goals with contrasted ideologies.

THE JAMAICA COMMONWEALTH IMMIGRATION BILL

By HUGH SMALL

Ever since the Rodney issue the Jamaican Government has maintained that the provisions of existing legislation are inadequate for dealing with commonwealth citizens living in Jamaica whom they deem to be security risks. Recently legislation was enacted which has given the Minister of Home Affairs power to declare any commonwealth citizen who is living in Jamaica and is not a Jamaican citizen, an undesirable immigrant, if the Minister is satisfied that that citizen is, or has been conducting himself so as to be dangerous to Jamaica's peace, order and good government; or for any other reason where the Minister considers it to be in the public interest. Also, the Minister has been given power to deport or detain in custody pending deportation any such person, and there is no right of Appeal except insofar as persons declared to be undesirable for reasons other than that they are dangerous to the State plead their case before a tribunal whose recommendation the Minister will not be bound to follow.

Past Procedure

As the laws of Jamaica stood before the Minister had the competence to make a deportation order on a person who was, or had been conducting himself in a manner that was dangerous to peace, good order, good government or public morals. That power was however, limited to persons who had been resident in Jamaica for a period of less than 2 years, or who were not born in Jamaica or were not born of parents domiciled in Jamaica; and before such an order could have been made allegations that the person was dangerous had to be made on oath or Affidavit to a Judge of the High Court or a Resident Magistrate specially appointed by the Minister. The Judge or Magistrate was then obliged to conduct an Enquiry and make a recommendation to the Minister. At this Enquiry the citizen had the right to be represented by a Barrister, to cross examine all witnesses in support of the charges and to call witnesses on his own behalf.

It seems, therefore, that the Prime Minister's statement that the government only discovered that Dr. Rodney was out of the Island when they were in the process of serving him with a deportation order, was very likely highly inaccurate. As the law then stood such an order could not be made until there had been an enquiry by a judge or magistrate under the provisions of Sections 6,7 and 8 of the Deportation Law. What the government did, therefore, was to circumvent the complex legal procedure by denying Dr. Rodney reentry on his return.

Now it seems that the effect of the new Act has been to withdraw the Commonwealth citizen's right to judicial enquiry and to amend the Immigration Restriction of Commonwealth Citizens Law which was intended to be used to control immigration into the Island rather than to deport Commonwealth citizens who are already there. The new legislation has placed all Com-

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An open letter to the Press

After reading a letter in the daily press by an admitted 'Afro West Indian, in which the writer used Mr. Primus and what he says as being the absolute on 'Black Power' and then concludes that it has no relevance to this society, I must admit that the information media in general have scored a victory.

This in my view is a classic example of propaganda at work. The philosophy of 'Black Power' has been rejected as everything else that is black without knowing what it is really all about. You see at once that this kind of rejection is illogical if not plain stupid. But then the public by and large rely on the News Media for information and the conclusions they come to are based on the information and the persons' interest. What information has the press given on Black Power? Has it been fair?

The international News Media as though by design, seem bent on containing the application of the philosophy to the U.S.A. as though it is only in the U.S.A. that black people are treated in an inferior manner. The truth is that wherever the black man makes contact with white men there is need for application of the philosophy. Indeed the worlds social and economic structure of which the church is part, rests on a base part of which is that the black man must be treated as inferior. Even in Africa where Western Standards are in vogue there is room for the philosophy.

There is no doubt that this society reflects the denigration of the Black Man which is fashionable, in say, the united States of America in the sphere of jobs, salaries, service and social life. To quote a concrete example I refer to a recent article in Moko – Mr. Jack and his relationship with Texaco.

I must also make the point that it is strange that the only person the News Media seem to find for statements is Mr. Primus with Trevor Mc Donald and Dr. Candy; a very even match I am sure. Now, the students at U.W.I. St. Augustine held a public discussion on 'The relevance of Black Power to this society'. The Pivot group published a complete issue of their 'News Letter' on 'Black Power'. The Stokely Carmichael Committee have held public meetings on the same subject. How is it that the News Media never publish or expose these rational views. Is it that this type of exposure does not fulfil their objective?

In the interest of fair play the News Media owe the public an explanation. In fact I think that the News Media have made a case for the Need of 'Black Power' in this society, don't you?

'Black Power' is the philosophy which affirms that Black Men are equal and capable of dignity, and Black Men must demand that this fact be respected or fight without compromise for the unequivocal recognition of this fact.

– *EARLE LEWIS*

MOK

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What is also true is that this is a 'small islands' Conference. The perspectives of West Indian collaboration have changed completely since the First Summit in far off 1963. It is for the 'niggerized' sections of the West Indian polity to speak up and be heard. Public opinion and the logic of 'free trade' politics have combined to place them in a strong position which they must exploit for the good of us all.

What is true too is that this Conference, unlike the recent Commonwealth Prime Ministers' Conference in London at which a call was made for the use of force to unseat the illegal regime in Rhodesia, will have nothing to say about the illegal regime in Guyana.

...UMBIE

...witnessing the opening of yet another ...ce the collapse of the Federation. Like ...e continuingly urgent need for meaning... ...Commonwealth Caribbean. But, to a ...ummit is in real trouble.

...n which these meetings were inaugurated. ...uly 22 to 24, 1963, was in fact a meeting ...Jamaica were independent, Barbados and ...ugh Trinidad was still trifling with the idea ...dos was dallying with the notion of the ...mong the leaders of these territories for ...erance of Federation between 1958 and ...idence tasting sweetly on the lips the 'Big ...selves to themselves. Goodwill, chivalry ...that First 'Summit' though Bustamante, ...was equally naturally the one to remind ...e cold dead' and not to be revived. ...usly if not smoothly decided. Common ...the 1964 World Trade Conference, the ...d Customs Union. Jamaica agreed to ...air carrier. Barbados vaguely promised ...an, for many reasons the outsider at the ...laborating with Governments obviously ...nference followed the same pattern and ...e via proportional representation that a ...gatherings.

...ns, was quick to sound a wider West ...e which he attended soon after coming ...he suggested that delegates should 'think ...e Caribbean than the community that is ...re was need for a permanent Caribbean ...eeth to meetings and conferences of this ...e that he preferred to be called 'Prime ...y urged those measures which were later ...ee Trade Area.

...rom June 6 to June 8, 1966 was the first ...s of the smaller islands. That, too, was ...hose phantoms that have since returned ...ts of the United Kingdom, the United ...he void created by the unconcern of the ...f economists to carry out an economic ...ng Barbados.

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...expectation. The hesitancy of Jamaica, ...rds were all written off. CARIFTA was ...rely licking her wounds, the Windwards ...external tariff among themselves ...n CARIFTA. So the official blurb went. ...early a year has not dispelled Jamaica's ...mmon external tariff of the Associated ...ion, been inadequate to help them secure ...heart bleeds for Mr. Bramble and those ...what did they expect? Did they really be...ld be enough?

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RELIGION

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By JC

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The Human... Dehumaniti...

By

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RELIGION IN SCHOOLS

By JOHN THORNLEY

In this article I want to raise some questions relating to the involvement of the Christian Churches in education in Trinidad-in particular, the Secondary Schools. I hope that I will provoke other MOKO readers to express their views on this subject.

The present system of religious education, as it operates, is very inadequate. In Government schools, the responsibility is shelved-off on the numerous denominations of the island. Some of these take their responsibility sufficiently seriously to see that these periods of religious instruction are at least staffed. But that is often as far as it goes. Few denominations give their priests any training or guidance. Only a minority of clergymen are born-teachers (This is not a criticism of clergymen; few teachers are born to their vocation; qualifications, training and experience make them teachers).

Religious instruction acts as a divisive force in the schools-each sect dealing with its "faithful" few. Though this is supposed to be a day of greater cooperation among the Churches, there have been no attempts at the official level to work out common curriculum and instruction. Religious instruction is also limited to junior forms (up to 4th), where it allows teachers to have one period off a week. In senior forms, where some students are beginning to question and think for themselves, there is no room for anything that is not examined at the GCE altar. In Church schools religious instruction is concentrated on adherents of one denomination.

The Churches, in fact, have their hands full maintaining the schools which, in theory at any rate, they control with Government assistance. In practice this reduces clergymen to janitors and useful contacts for employment or school-places. Any power that the Churches still enjoy, rests with boards and committees of management, whose fitness for the task is sometimes questionable.

Not Helping

Without going into detailed reasons, it seems obvious to me that education should be the Government's responsibility. By trying to hold onto their schools, the Churches are not helping Government to take seriously her responsibility in education.

Those who argue that Churches will lose a great opportunity of giving youth moral and religious instruction unless they retain control of some schools should ask themselves these questions: – what effect have all the Christian schools had on the lives of Trinidad personages now prominent in public places? – where are the men of Christian courage and vision in our society? – how seriously is Religious Instruction taken even today in some Church schools? – Is it anyway (and this is the more basic question) the role of the Church to run separate institutions for its flock?

–shouldn't there be equal concern for other sheep who haven't the money or the academic gifts to qualify them for their own special pen, but who have to "make-do" with the State product?

–and what about the many many others of different beliefs or of no particular faith?

–don't they matter?

I have taught in a New Zealand State school that was more "religious" in the truest sense of the word than many of the so-called Church schools I have visited in Trinidad. It was not that everyday we began with a brief worship-service. That was meaningful, but it is not primarily what I mean by "religious". The essential thing lay in more fundamental aspects of school life: relationships – between staff and principal, among the staff; attitudes - the value given to each individual child in the school, whether they were destined to be poets or plumbers; and commitment-time given to lesson preparation and extra-curricular activities.

Humanise The System

In a secular society where education is a State responsibility, the task of the Christian Church and the Christian teacher is not to maintain control of schools; not to indoctrinate her flock; not to win converts to Christianity. The task is to HUMANISE the secular system.

The Churches should help their members who are involved in education to "humanise the system". Others of different religious convictions or of no specific faith will join them in the task. As only a minority at present see the need for a "revolution" in the quality of education given in Trinidad, all who share the vision should work together for change.

In a pluralistic society, no one religion can lay claim to privilege (nor can any one race or culture claim dominance). Rather each religion must contribute to the upbuilding of society as a whole.

Political Gimmick?

Let me mention a few ways in which the Churches can help to "humanise the system."

– by holding retreats and seminars for Christian teachers to help them examine their role as Christians within a secular educational system.

– by encouraging discussion and dialogue among all concerned on the philosophy underlying education given by the State. Is it just a political gimmick? Is it geared to meeting our local situation as a Caribbean, Latin-American and developing nation? Is education merely training people to fill a job or is it helping them to live more fully as human beings?

– by pushing for a widening of school staffing to include such people as vocational - guidance officers, and counsellors?

– encouraging and helping to prepare and staff new courses that will better equip all students for life after school (e.g. sex and family life courses)

Now that the Government is assuming its responsibilities in education, perhaps it is time that the Churches re-assess their present commitments and consider whether they are making the most effective contribution within this changing situation

The Humanities or the Dehumanities?

By LLOYD KING

The field of study whose mission has always been seen as that of civilizing, training the sensibility, disciplining the mind and encouraging flexibility of mind is the Humanities. It is what students in Trinidad and Barbados and Jamaica do when they say that they are "studying literature" (French, English or Spanish) and of course includes the study of the "Classics" The first general point that, alas, must be made is that such studies have been entrenched long enough even in the secondary school system for us to expect a higher level of general discussion in our societies than we are in fact accustomed to. This sense of a vacuum is surely one of the things that have sent our novelists into exile. If anything the study of European literatures has often seemed to insulate the mind from any perception of the values of West Indian and indeed American effort, and more generally from interest in anything written by someone not yet dead.

Why is it that studies in the Humanities so often seem to deaden the mind and embalm it rather than arouse that passionate interest which is sometimes noticeable in students of the Social Sciences? The obvious and simple answer is that the Social Sciences have a readier reference to the current public experiences of students, and are often more illuminating. Studying Humanities on the other hand often merely seems to have the prime value of providing a certificate. In other words, to my mind, the Humanities are at present suffering a crisis of relevance, of which rather sadly, most of its professional practitioners are either unaware, or unwilling to admit.

Let us consider a simple symptom. In some secondary schools in Trinidad, students are allowed to stop doing English Literature after the Third Form and surprisingly enough, such students may proceed at Higher Schools Level to study Spanish or French Literature. This situation arises from a simple fact, which is that there is an enormous fear of English Literature in Trinidad schools, which is continually strengthened by the kind of failure rate that obtains. In a nominally English speaking country, English Literature is a kind of nemesis. Spanish and French Literature often are not, if only because the thrill of the thing lies rather more with the arts of translation than with appreciation or insight, the texts chosen have simpler meanings to arrive at and gradually one learns to simulate critical skills. It is shocking what fantastic hypocrites examinations and our ambitions can make of us.

There is no doubt that there are objective conditions which make the study of literature unamenable. Pop-art, films, the instant excitement of the mystery novel distract one from habits of attentive reading. Together with all this, there is the primary fact that the foundation of studies in the Humanities must rest in an important measure on the presence of considerable activity in the performing arts, on the one hand, and on the other, on an interest in intellectual discussion and a curiosity about the varieties and nuances of human experience. In our present circumstances, I have no doubt that a Humanites syllabus should tend to emphasize a literature of ideas and should be willing to include texts which are not strictly speaking, "literary."

Enforce

Secondly, all students ought to start off with literature in English- and notice I did not say, English Literature. Once again, I must point to the irrelevance of the London and Cambridge syllabuses. Englishmen will necessarily enforce an English syllabus. It is necessary that we begin to enforce our own interests whether the material we choose be by Africans, Englishmen, West Indians, Americans, or Indians. This is an exercise moreover which needs to be performed not only in regard to the English syllabus but for French and Spanish as well. And nowhere is it more due for application than at the U.W.I. Some Universities in England and Canada are offering courses in West Indian and Commonwealth Literature, while in the West Indies such ideas have scarcely created a space for themselves. There is a lot to be done.

The courts as they are

The Constitution of Trinidad and Tobago protects the citizens of this country against the abrogation, abridgement and infringement of those rights and freedoms granted by the constitution and specifically from the imposition of cruel and unusual treatment or punishment. In the final analysis we depend on the courts of this country to safeguard the enjoyment of these rights to the ordinary citizen.

Yet, latecomers to the Tunapuna Magistrate's Court some weeks ago could have been forgiven if, at first blush, they thought that they had taken the wrong turning and had somehow ended up in a medieval house of punishment.

In full public view five youthful defendants, three male and two females, who had been found guilty of assault were ordered by the presiding magistrate to kneel on the floor and to recite after him a litany of contrition which he composed especially for the occasion.

That being done they were then fined varying sums of money before being finally given absolution. Some court: some protection.

At existing costs $2.00 per month from 400 persons, or $1.00 from 800 persons or 50 cents a month from 1600 persons or 25 cents per month from 3200 persons will ensure the existence of th... Will ...

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No 7

A Serious Review

Price 10c up

The Summit and the Bank

By F.A. FRANCIS

Now that another Conference of heads of West Indian Governments has been fixed for February 3–5, it is appropriate that we should reflect briefly on the issues to be dealt with. On several of these matters there is already a pressing need for a final solution. Also, an airing of issues is desirable on general grounds. It is obvious though that since the smaller islands have bluntly indicated their willingness to reexamine the desirability of their involvement in CARIFTA, the prevalent mood may be in favour of reckless bargaining especially by those whose gains from CARIFTA promised to be significant. This must be guarded against. While bargaining and compromise can be expected to be part of the exercise, such bargaining should not amount to the negation of all principles.

It is about eighteen months since the United Nations Development Programme Mission reported favourably to the Governments of the West Indies on the feasibility of the establishment of the Regional Bank for the Caribbean. It had been anticipated during the close succession of regional conferences which took place about the time of the submission of this Report, that the Bank would be in operation by now. The Report had been received with apparent enthusiams by all the prospective members, and none seemed to contemplate even the possibility of an impasse on any of the issues facing the conferring governments. More than that, there was strong feeling at the time among many of the governments (and this was even formally proposed for adoption by the Heads of Governments) that the Regional Bank should be treated as an essential mechanism in CARIFTA with compulsory membership of all CARIFTA members.

Regional Issues

There were even strong suggestions that the intent of this was not merely to ensure that the Bank could successfully influence the pace of economic integration of the economies of the entire projected Free Trade Area, but that it would act as a channel through which would flow some measure of economic aid from the larger to the smaller territories as it were in compensation for the inequality of benefits anticipated within CARIFTA. In fact many of the smaller islands committed themselves to the Free Trade Area fully conscious of the fact that there was little or no increased potential for economic transformation arising directly from membership therein, but did so as a gesture of regional cooperation and hoped that the Bank would represent a similar gesture to their benefit on the part of the larger and more developed members.

The exchanges which have taken place during the past few months between the Prime Minister of Trinidad and Tobago and the Prime Minister of Jamaica in an effort the by former to bring about a meeting of minds on outstanding regional issues, have perhaps indicated beyond doubt how eminently reasonable it would have been to make CARIFTA and the Bank complementary to each other.

Now that the survival of CARIFTA itself seems threatened, with the possibility of retarding the integration movement in the Caribbean by at least five years (as did the collapse of the Federation) it should be more obvious that the path towards strong integration in the region might well lie in the exclusion of recalcitrant integrationists, and the inclusion of those more firmly committed to a policy of give-and-take in the ultimate interest of the larger community.

In this context it is perhaps useful to recall my views expressed in early April 1968 in an article published in one of our daily newspapers in response to the threat of withdrawal from the Bank by Mr. Seaga of Jamaica, should the regional Governments decide to locate the Bank elsewhere than in Jamaica.

In that article it was suggested that there were eight reasons why the Bank should be located in one of the smaller territories, namely Antigua. They seem to be still valid.

Events have been perhaps made it more necessary that the Bank should be situated in a territory where overt and covert political pressures on the Bank's administration would be minimized.

The continuing failure of CARIFTA to provide benefits for the smaller territories would also indicate the desirability of siting the Bank in a territory which has so far not clearly benefitted from the location of other regional institutions. Such a step would above all indicate more than lip-service to the idea of a regional commitment to assistance for the small islands.

Development Problems

As for Antigua itself, after all the arguments backward and forward it is still to be demonstrated that that Island does not contain all these essential amenities and services needed to have the Bank function in a comfortable up-to-date environment. On the other hand, Antigua's problems of development epitomizes the full range of development problems encountered in the other islands. There is a reasonably well-appointed small society the Bank can yet get to grips with the basic ills which affect them all, that is, if that is what the Bank is about.

Whether or not the Bank is sited in Antigua or any other small territory it must remain a symbol of mutual cooperation and of the willingness of the larger countries to assist the less fortunate. The original conception of the Bank was that it should lead to the development of an institution to serve the area covered by the Tripartite Report of 1966. The smaller islands remain justifiably perturbed at the prospect that an institution originally intended to pay special attention to their needs might well come to ignore tham completely.

This is a proper and natural anxiety. It is very crucial that the smaller islands should have faith in the Bank and its intentions. The choice of Barbados, while being less able to satisfy some of the considerations outlined above, represents a workable compromise between the conflicting points of view. It is to be hoped that those with aspirations for a less fragmented Caribbean will respect that decision and proceed apace to consolidate the little we have so far achieved in bringing about an integration of the region.

THE JAMAICA COM'WEALTH IMMIGRATION BILL

• From Page Two

monwealth citizens on literally the same footing as aliens no matter for how long they have been living in Jamaica.

In fact the new law has given Commonwealth citizens living in Jamaica much less security than the hundreds of thousands of Jamaicans living in England. For Jamaican citizens in England may not be deported in the sole discretion of a Minister of government without a court order and the right of appeal. A Jamaican seeking to go to England and who has not yet been admitted has a right of appeal against any order seeking to exclude him from there.

Too much attention should, however, not be directed to the greater freedom that Jamaicans in England enjoy because the real intent of this legislation is to restrict the political rights of Commonwealth citizens at the University. The new legislation cannot be taken in isolation from past pronouncements of the Prime Minister and other Ministers of governments on the University. The sword of Damocles is still popularly believed to be dangling over the heads of two University lecturers.

It is also of more than passing interest to note that the Bill became law without amendment in spite of much public protest and criticism. Among the institutions calling for the withdrawal or amendment of the Bill were :–

The New World Group (Jamaica)
The Jamaica Council for Human Rights
The Jamaica Bar Association
The Incorporated Law Society of Jamaica.
The Jamaica Teachers Association.
The West Indies Group of University Teachers.
The Daily Gleaner
An Informal Meeting of Staff and Students of the Faculty of Social Sciences, U.W.I. Jamaica
and
A "Teach-In" sponsored by the Guild of Undergraduates, U.W.I. Jamaica.

All was in vain, as was perhaps to be expected.

MAS' IN YUH MAS'

• From Page One

The failure of the Plan to enunciate clearly a strategy which deals with (3) and (4) is one of its most telling defects. This failure is demonstrated most succintly in the argument that at the end of the period, of the plan, it could be a good thing if oil represents an even greater proportion of the product of the society than it does now. It supports this contention by roughly two main assertions :–

(a) that the Government, by its National Oil Company and other policies, can come to control much more than now, the performance of the petroleum sector.

(b) that by changing the rest of the production structure, one can make the economy, in effect, less dependent on oil

Neither of these arguments is acceptable to the thinking man. First of all no one would deny that if petroleum were to come to represent a greater share of the product of the economy, that incomes in Trinidad would not increase. The greater concern though is whether we would be in any greater control over our economic lives as a result. There are many ways of increasing one's income, some superior to others – bread alone is not enough.

In Venezuela, the leaders of the Accion Democratica Party has been using the slogan *"sembrar el petroleo"* – "sow the petroleum" – since the thirties. It came to power in 1958 and attempted to implement this policy which in layman's language means using the money from petroleum to diversify the economy. Today, 10 years later, the economy is as dependent on oil as it was ever. Venezuela has the highest income per head in the hemisphere outside the U.S. and Canada, but if the oil companies sneeze the Government would get pneumonia and the people would emigrate.

One does not know how the Government of Trinidad intends to sow its petroleum (Venezuela has a National Oil Company too.) No matter in which direction the rest of the production structure is changed, the fact remains that,if the economy comes to have a greater share of its capital, labour, skills, public revenue, and exports in the petroleum sector, the owners of that sector will be the final determinants of what happens in this country.

Much more than a national oil company will be required. The rest of the production structure must come to dominate oil, not the other way around. The only way to do this and still benefit from the high incomes generated by oil, is effectively to extend the other sectors beyond the national boundaries of Trindad and Tobago. What we are arguing for is Caribbean economic integration coupled with Caribbean ownership of the means of production. Put simply, if we take the Caribbean economy as a whole, oil immediately becomes a much smaller part of this whole. The problem, of course, is how do we create regional institutions which make this view a reality.

On this question, the Plan has very little to say. The development of the national economy is treated almost as if the rest of the Caribbean is only another market for Trinidad's goods, and this in the age of CARIFTA. It is not enough to say these problems are immense. The last five year period was characterised by serious governmental discussions on a regional level most of them carried on behind closed doors. What was the strategy of this Government on these? What will be the strategy of the Government on this vital question over the next Five year period? The Plan leaves us entirely in the dark. No wonder Texaco looms so large on our horizons.

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